Ethos and Politics in the Youth Hostels Association (YHA) in the 1930s

The Youth Hostels Association (YHA) was a formally non-political organisation founded to provide cheap accommodation for walkers and cyclists. However the YHA drew on, and was influenced by, values and ideas which both attracted a particular kind of member and informed its domestic political interventions. The article specifically examines the connections between the YHA and other organisations, aspects of the politics of membership relating to the concepts of respectability and class and the political interventions of the YHA in the areas of unemployment and the access movement.

Keywords: Youth Hostels Association; rambling; class; unemployment; access movement

Introduction

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The YHA was founded in 1930.[1] Its objective was `to help all, but especially young people to a greater knowledge, use and love of the countryside, particularly by providing hostels or other simple accommodation for them in their travels.'[2] By September 1939 it had a membership of 83, 418 and a complement of 297 hostels.[3] The establishment and success of the YHA reflected the popularity of recreational walking and cycling in the period, and the organisation built upon a pre-existing network of organisations dedicated to the provision of rural leisure and holidays and to the protection or exploration of the countryside.

Different approaches to the study of the YHA in the 1930s could be undertaken; for example, comparatively in relation to the wider international rambling and hostelling movement, or as an organisation which articulated a version of a more general pro-rural and anti-urban ideology found in England.[4] However, the focus of this article is on the domestic political character and interventions of the YHA, and it has three specific objectives. The first is to identify the ethical and political currents which influenced the YHA and, relatedly, to identify the other organisations with which its personnel had linkages. The second objective is to consider how these currents were reflected in issues around membership (and non-membership), and the third objective is to examine how these currents influenced the articulation of the YHA with the principal political issues of the 1930s. It is important to note that the YHA was a self-confessed non-political organisation. In its first Handbook, published in 1931, the chairman of the National Executive Committee, Barclay Baron, stated that the YHA would serve no one party or sect and this was repeated in the Handbook of 1937.[5] However, as with all organisations, the operations of the YHA had implicit or explicit political dimensions and a consideration of its literature reveals an engagement with the wider political environment in which it operated.[6]

Before a consideration of my three main themes, it is useful to consider why the YHA was a non-political organisation given that the reasons for this stance are not stated in its own literature. First, the principal figures did not see the objectives of the YHA as ostensibly political. The desire to help people, especially the young, to access and explore the countryside struck them as a positive and philanthropic aim which transcended politics. Second, an apolitical stance made strategic sense in trying to build the movement, especially when it came to funding. The YHA had four main sources of income in the 1930s-

revenue from members in subscriptions and hostel use, fees from affiliated groups, grants and donations from charitable organisations and, later in the decade, grants from government agencies or departments. **With respect to the latter two sources, significant support was given by the Carnegie Trust, the King's Jubilee Trust and the Cadbury family and, from 1936, financial support for hostel building or renovation in the Lake District, the North-East and South Wales was provided by the Commissioner for Special Areas under the Special Areas (Development and Improvement) Act of 1934. Such support would not have been forthcoming if the YHA had been a politically partisan organisation.** There was a logic in being apolitical so as not to deter or alienate potential supporters, whether individual members or organisations and agencies. The less `political' the YHA appeared the wider the constituency of support it was likely to garner. However, as will be detailed later, this strategy was not without problems given the tensions which could occur with other organisations and criticisms it faced. Ultimately, it may be argued, an apolitical stance was in itself a form of politics.

Ethical and political currents and institutional linkages

This section attempts to outline the principal influences on senior figures within the YHA and it will be argued that although it cannot be demonstrated that such influences would be prevalent or dominant among the membership, these do inform aspects of membership and the wider domestic operation of the YHA. The first point to emphasise is the influence of Quakers within the organisation.[7] The National Executive Committee had three chairmen in the 1930s- Barclay Baron from foundation until 1937, John W. Major from 1937 to 1939 and John Cadbury in 1939, all of whom were Quakers. Egerton St John (`Jack') Catchpool

was Honorary Secretary of the YHA from its foundation in 1930 and was appointed its full-time Secretary in March 1934 when the honorary post was abolished. The importance of Catchpool's Quakerism is reflected in his autobiography *Candles in the Darkness*. Published in 1966, it was written while he held a fellowship at a Quaker college in Birmingham and the title was a reference to a Quaker aphorism. Catchpool, perhaps along with Thomas Arthur (T.A.) Leonard, is arguably the most important figure in the development of the YHA in its first decade.[8] Leonard was one of four vice-presidents of the YHA, a former Congregationalist minister who became a Quaker around 1920. It is difficult to overstate the importance of Leonard in any discussion of the countryside and its importance in the context of leisure provision. A memorial stone dedicated to Leonard describes him as `father of the open-air movement in this country' and in Pimlott's classic history of the English holiday his photograph appears alongside the other pioneers, Thomas Cook and Billy Butlin.[9] As well as these five prominent individuals, the leading Quaker families the Rowntrees, the Cadburys and the Sturges were active at local and national level in the YHA~~,~~ and the charitable foundations of the Rowntrees and Cadburys gave financial support to the YHA.

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Thus, Quaker influence in the YHA was disproportionate to their numbers in the population as a whole. A Quaker ethos or way of `seeing the world' can be discerned which influences the movement, and this ethos is compatible with other strands of thought found among non-Quaker members or organisations and groups to which the individuals discussed had connections or affiliations. There are four concepts which are of relevance- those of simplicity, behaviour, service and community. This is not to claim that these fully capture the Quaker `way of life'; because Quakerism has no specific sacred text or liturgy there may

be no one `way.' However, these three concepts have important resonances in both Quakerism and the YHA.

The four concepts will be explored a little further. Precise definitions are elusive, however a general sense can be identified. Simplicity and the related idea of `plainness' are among the key exhortations of Quakerism and there exists the idea of `plaining'; classifying the world in terms of the distinction plain/ not-plain.[10] Although some historians have suggested that not all Quakers lived lives of simplicity and the `gay Friends' rejected austerity, those involved in the YHA in the 1930s endorsed the dominant current of valuing simplicity.[11] Simplicity and a related asceticism is a strong current in the YHA and its manifestation will be considered further below. The simple, the spartan, the unadorned tended to be valued; a lifestyle or disposition that smacked of indolence, hedonism, self-indulgence or intemperance were censured, as indicated in the title of Porter's history of the early years of the YHA, *On Spartan Lines*.

The next three concepts are inter-related. The behaviour and commitments of Quakers are the manifestation of their faith in the absence of adherence to sacred texts. Therefore, action, rather than belief, is the manifestation of morality, and religious self-identification for Quakers is in terms of behaviour more than through statements of belief. The practice of `letting one's life speak', the importance of behaviour, is linked to the idea of service. Service can be loosely defined as contributing to the wider community through charitable, philanthropic or other forms of activity. Within Quakerism, such service often took the form of engagement and involvement with forms of educational provision, and many of the leading figures in the YHA were involved in education broadly defined.[12]

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Having summarised the ethos and dispositions that characterised Quakerism, or a strand within it, the YHA's personal and organisational linkages to other institutions will be considered. One is struck by the extent of connections between leading YHA figures and other organisations in which similar values or a similar ethics can be found. To return to the individuals already mentioned and to consider some others will illustrate this point. Barclay Baron had been secretary of the Cavendish Association, which was formed before World War One to involve public schools in social work in deprived areas and was later absorbed into Toc H, the Christian charitable organisation. Baron also served as warden of a charitable mission in Bermondsey, South London and was a lecturer with the Workers' Educational Association. Catchpool had served with the Friends' Ambulance Unit and had done voluntary work in the Soviet Union with P. B. `Tubby' Clayton, founder of Toc H, and members of the Cadbury family. Catchpool was sub-warden of Toynbee Hall, the settlement in East London, from 1920 to 1929 and its warden from 1962 to 1963. He was also involved in prison visiting, worked as an adult education organiser and was a member of the Workers' Travel Association, an organisation linked to the Labour Party which provided holidays and excursions on a co-operative basis. It was as a representative of the Workers' Travel Association that Catchpool attended the inaugural YHA conference in 1930. Henry Herbert (H. H.) Symonds served as vice-chair of the YHA's National Executive Committee from 1933 to 1938. Symonds was a schoolteacher by profession although he had been ordained an Anglican minister. He was left-wing inclined and active in the Workers' Educational Association, though not a member of a political party. His commitment to service was mostly directed to membership of organisations associated with accessing or protecting the countryside. At various times, Symonds held important positions in the Friends of the Lake District, edited the journal of the National Council of Ramblers'

Federations, was president of its successor organisation the Ramblers' Association and was active in the campaign for the establishment of national parks; the first of which was created by the post-**World War Two** Labour government. James Joseph (J. J.) Mallon served on the YHA's National Executive Committee throughout the 1930s, and an indication of his prominence was that he was a member of the wartime Emergency Committee formed by the National Executive Committee in 1939 and became a vice-president in 1947. Mallon had numerous commitments and roles; early in his career he was a member of the Independent Labour Party and stood as Labour parliamentary candidate in Saffron Walden in 1918 and Watford in 1922 and 1923. He was a member of the Workers' Travel Association, an honorary treasurer of the Workers' Educational Association, from 1933 a member of the Special Unemployment Committee of the National Council of Social Service and chair of the London Council for Voluntary Occupations.

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T. A. Leonard had started organising informal excursions to the countryside in 1891. These were formalised in 1897 as the Co-operative Holidays Association, a non-profit making company, of which he became General-Secretary.[13] The objectives of the Co-operative Holidays Association - which were to `provide recreative and educational holidays by offering reasonably priced accommodation and to promote the intellectual and social interests of its holiday groups' -find echoes in the YHA over thirty years later.[14] In 1913, Leonard established the Holiday Fellowship ostensibly in response to his concern that the Co-operative Holidays Association had departed from its original aim of providing cheap holidays for the working class. However, Taylor notes that the increasing popularity of the Co-operative Holidays Association and its attraction of a `rowdy' element was also an important motivation.[15] Leonard was, like Symonds, active in rambling groups and was

President of the Merseyside Ramblers' Federation. He chaired the Conference in September 1931 that led to the formation of the National Council of Ramblers' Federations and was later chairman and then president of the Ramblers' Association founded in 1935. With Symonds and Patrick Abercrombie, the prominent town planner and another YHA vice-president, Leonard was one of ten founder members of the Friends of the Lake District in 1934.

Another YHA vice-president was William Temple who was Archbishop of York throughout the 1930s and later became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was the first president of the Workers' Educational Association, serving from 1908 to 1924, and for a short period a Labour Party member. Temple was associated both before and after the 1930s with movements critiquing aspects of industrialism and capitalism. In the mid-1920s he had organised the progressive and interdenominational Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (COPEC), and helped to commission the study of unemployment published by the Pilgrim Trust as *Men without work* in 1938.[16] The president of the YHA throughout the 1930s was the historian George Macaulay Trevelyan. Trevelyan shared many of Temple's anti-modern and anti-industrial prejudices and chaired the estates committee of the National Trust between 1928 and 1949.

In addition to the roles and organisational allegiances and commitments of these leading figures, the character of affiliated organisations is another indicator of the ethos and political orientation of the YHA. During the 1930s there was an average of approximately forty affiliates to the YHA's National Council. Many of the affiliates were non-political groups (or ostensibly so), including those that represented youth organisations (for example the Boys Brigade and Girl Guides), educational groups (the Educational Settlements Association

and the School Journey Association), physical recreation and health (the Cyclists' Touring Club, the Sunlight League), and trade or professional associations, such as the National Union of Students and the National Union of Teachers. However, some affiliated organisations were explicitly political or at least there is a case for arguing that they embodied a particular political ethos. The majority of these groups were on the left. At various times between 1931 and 1939 various groups on the left were affiliated, and some continuously throughout the period including the Holiday Fellowship and the Co-operative Holidays Association that represented or had developed from the co-operative strand of labour politics. It should be noted that these were not particularly radical organisations; however, the co-operative roots of both make it plausible to locate them on the left. Other organisations included the Workers' Educational Association, the Workers' Travel Association, and the Labour Party was represented through the Labour Party League of Youth. From 1932 until 1936 the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry was represented until its replacement by the Woodcraft Folk in 1936. The main objectives of the Woodcraft movement were to provide a pacifist, co-educational and socialist youth movement as an alternative to the Boy Scouts.[17] Another affiliate was the National Clarion Cycling Club, associated with the Clarion Clubs established by Robert Blatchford in the early 1890s. As with the holiday groups above, it is not clear that all participants in these groups were especially `political' and some may have been in the groups for the recreation rather than the politics.[18] Having said this, the origins and ostensible purpose of the Clarion organisations clearly place them on the left and historians of the YHA emphasise at least one close local connection when they state that the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers regarded the YHA as `an integral part of our movement and entirely inseparable from it.'[19] By contrast, affiliated movements, organisations or groups which can be placed on the political right are

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far fewer in number. The principal one was the Junior Imperial League which had been founded in 1906 and was in effect the youth wing of the Conservative Party. The affiliated League of Nations Union was led by the Conservative Sir Robert Cecil, its other principal figure was the Quaker and Labour MP Philip Noel-Baker and its membership cut across party lines so it will not be classified here as an organisation of the right.

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For some of these individuals and within some of these organisations there was an ethos which was influenced by Quakerism, but there were also other strands of thought compatible with the diffuse ideas of simplicity, behaviour, service and community. Religious non-conformity, the progressive wing of Anglicanism, the more serious and improving aspects of late 19th century liberal progressivism, and the co-operative and social democratic strands of the labour tradition could all embrace and inform the attitudes of the YHA. One aspect of `improvement' was the use of education to improve people intellectually and spiritually and to make them better citizens and members of the community, and it is striking how many leading YHA members were involved in education as teachers, administrators (particularly the Quaker connections to the Educational Settlement Movement) or in the wider sense as spiritual leaders or public intellectuals in the figures of Temple and Trevelyan respectively.

However, the explicitly non-political claims of the YHA and the laudable aims of increasing access to the countryside meant that the organisation did not wholly exclude or alienate conservatives or Conservatives. Trevelyan himself was of a conservative disposition, captured in the statement to his brother in 1926: `I don't understand the age we live in, and what I do understand I don't like.'[20] As well as Labour figures, including the former leader George Lansbury, offering contributions, Conservative leader Stanley Baldwin, known for his

paeans to the English countryside, provided the foreword to the 1936 Handbook, citing various poets in praise of nature, and in the 1937 Handbook Robert Baden-Powell contributed the less-than-radical suggestion that visitors to the country should offer `their thanks to the landowners and the friendly folk of the homesteads as well as to God for the gift of the countryside.'[21] With respect to Baldwin and Lansbury, it is unclear whether the YHA had a conscious commitment to balance in having prominent figures from opposing parties contribute in successive years. It can be tentatively claimed, however, that the YHA wanted to indicate its `broad church' support, at least among the established though oppositional parties.

A further illustration of these values or dispositions cutting across party lines and being manifest in the YHA are embodied in the Conservative leader Stanley Baldwin and former Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald, who had been expelled from the party in 1931. Both were members of the National Government formed in 1931 and Baldwin's consensual political instincts and MacDonald's declining radicalism since the First World War allowed for co-operation and this was reflected in their views on the countryside. No study, long or short, of Baldwin fails to mention his identification of England with the countryside, and the importance of walking and the Scottish landscape for MacDonald has been recorded by Griffiths. She also notes that in the 1929 General Election campaign, along with the Liberal Lloyd George, the three leaders pledged to defend the countryside and put its welfare above political divisions.`[T]he value of the rural landscape and the need for its protection seemed matters too important to be subsumed into party politics,' Griffiths states 'and in any case often lent themselves to cross-party consensus.'[22] In the same year Baldwin wrote the introduction to Longman's *English Heritage Series* which came with a recommendation

by MacDonald. Both also feature prominently in Wiener's book on England's anti-industrial culture as exemplars of this tradition and having similar outlooks.[23]

The above section has argued that the YHA was informed in particular by an ethos derived from aspects of non-conformism, liberal progressivism and social-democratic politics. However, the organisation's apolitical stance and moderate reformism meant it could accommodate as contributors to its literature and members those outside these broad traditions. It might be inferred that the YHA would not appeal to the more extreme elements in British politics and it is to these we now turn.

The Communist Party of Great Britain stood outside the consensus about the primacy of parliamentary politics held by the National Government and the Labour opposition. Although the Communist Party of Great Britain did not endorse the anti-modern and anti-industrial sentiments often found in YHA literature, the countryside impinged on Communist politics in two ways. First, the countryside provided a physical and aesthetic alternative to the urban experience of the working class located in the harsh realities of manual work and poor accommodation. In that sense, rambling had an immediate and practical benefit to the working class. Second, the issue of access to private land often had a class dimension which fitted neatly with the Party's ideology.[24] The best-known and frequently-recounted event relating to this point is the Kinder Trespass of April 1932, organised by the Manchester branch of the British Workers' Sports Federation (BWSF).[25]

Yates reproduces a copy of a letter of March 1930 from T. M. Condon, Honorary Secretary of the BWSF, to the National Council of Social Service, expressing interest in attending a conference being organised by the National Council of Social Service for 13 April 1930 concerning the formation of the YHA. Since 1928, the BWSF had been a Communist-

dominated organisation.[26] The source given for the letter by Yates is `YHA' with no further details and he claims that the BWSF `was…involved in the creation of the YHA.'[27] However there is no evidence of BWSF attendance at the conference eventually held on 10 April 1930 and the BWSF and the Communist Party were never listed as affiliates of the YHA. It is not clear whether the attitudes of Benny Rothman, the main figure in the Kinder Trespass, were representative of Communists. However he had a very negative view of organised rambling clubs, which leads one to think he would not have endorsed the YHA either.[28] YHA publications of the period make no reference to the Kinder Trespass although it received widespread contemporary attention. It is not clear why this is the case; however two possible reasons can be posited. One is that the YHA was not, in 1932, concerned with issues of access, and the other is that it did not want to give publicity to a form of political action which went beyond conventional lobbying and a consensual form of politics.[29]

Unlike the Communist Party, sections of the extreme right in Britain in the 1930s endorsed an anti-urban and anti-modern tradition. Although Oswald Mosley and others in the British Union of Fascists (BUF) had technocratic and modernising tendencies, for example in relation to economic policy, these tendencies co-existed with anti-modernist ones.[30] Mosley frequently railed against cities, invoking the countryside as the true England, and the agriculture spokesman of the BUF, Jorian Jenks, was an anti-modernist.[31] Advocacy of the rural in the BUF was perhaps most forcefully embodied in Henry Williamson, author of *Tarka the Otter*.[32] Despite this ideological disposition, there is no organisational connection between the BUF and the YHA and no evidence of personal links between leaders of either organisation.

The picture is more complex with respect to the non-BUF extreme right in the 1930s. At the Open Council meeting of June 1930, Rolf Gardiner was accepted as a member of the Council as representative of the Wessex Hikers' Lodges.[33] Gardiner was, among other things, a farmer, promoter of folk music, open-air camps and hiking. He was a member of the English Mistery and its successor the English Array. These were groups on the right whose eclectic ideology combined aspects of paganism, racial superiority, ecological revival, decentralised rural organisation, mysticism and an antipathy towards the development of interventionist statism. He was an admirer of Nazi Germany although he denied holding `any nonsensical racial theory such as a dogmatic belief in the "Nordic Race"'.[34] In March 1931 it was recorded that Gardiner would not bring his own hostels at Fordingbridge in Hampshire and Mere in Wiltshire into the general scheme of the YHA; however its members could use them by special arrangement. This refusal raised the question of continued representation of the Wessex Hikers' Lodges on the National Council.[35] However, in the 1931 Handbook, which may have been compiled before the March meeting, the pioneering role of the Wessex Hikers in the YHA was recognised along with the Merseyside YH group, the British Youth Council and a few specified individuals.[36] It is not clear if this stance in relation to his own hostels meant that Gardiner's Wessex Hikers' Lodges were debarred from affiliation or whether he no longer wanted it. At the National Council of April 1932 the Wessex Hikers' Lodges do not appear on the list of affiliated organisations.[37] There is one other appearance of Gardiner in the YHA literature of the 1930s. In an edition of *The Rucksack* of 1934 he wrote an article about workcamps for the unemployed run by International Voluntary Service, the Universities' Council for Unemployed Groups, Grith Fyrd, organised by the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry and his own camp at Springhead in Wessex.[38] One can infer

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that as Gardiner was invited to write this piece that relations between him and the YHA were not strained although he seems to have no links with the organisation by this time.[39]

The intermittent links between the YHA are Gardiner are interesting because he stood politically beyond the labourist-conservative spectrum on which most groups associated with the YHA were found. It seems unlikely that the YHA principals did not know of his political beliefs so it appears that the organisation was politically flexible enough to deal with Gardiner in the context of the early years when the use of pre-existing hostels controlled by other groups was necessary to provide capacity for hostellers.[40] **Although Gardiner's politics were more extreme than those typically found in the YHA, he shared** the strong pro-rural and anti-urban views that were common in YHA circles and **this provided a degree of ideological affinity with the organisation**. Another figure of the right, the journalist and author H. J. Massingham, contributed an article to *YHA Rucksack* in 1935 on the connection between man and nature, however his links to the YHA were more tenuous than Gardiner's. Massingham was an advocate of organicism and `back to the land' and has been described by Moore-Colyer as, like Gardiner, a neo-romantic of the non-Mosleyite right.[41]

The wish to avoid being aligned too closely with particular positions or affiliations **went beyond and outside party politics and included religion.** Although hostels gave information about local religious services, it seems that the YHA did not want to appear to be proselytising. In 1933, the National Executive Committee decided not to adopt a suggestion from a North Midlands supporter that the British and Foreign Bible Society be approached about presenting a bible to each hostel.[42] A similar caution regarding overly-partisan associations can be seen when the National Council decided it would be unwise to be

associated with any particular newspaper. This followed publicity in the *News Chronicle*, a left-leaning paper founded in 1930 and owned by the Cadbury family which had close links with the YHA.[43]

The politics of membership (and non-membership): respectability and class

It is impossible to know the attitudes or dispositions of the thousands of members of the YHA in the 1930s. However it is possible to identify some prevailing norms and expectations of members to which most seemed to adhere. In this sense, the behaviour of members could be considered respectable. The concept of `respectability' is fluid and not easy to define. It is often seen as emerging in the Victorian period and is associated with thrift, financial self-reliance, educational self-improvement, religious commitment and temperance, or some combination of these attributes, among sections of the working class.[44] The last three of these are central to the Quaker (and other non-conformist) traditions and influenced the ethos of the YHA. Two aspects of how respectability is conceived of here should be emphasised; one is that it is related to the behaviour, and expectations of behaviour, of members in the context of hostelling, and the second is that it is not an attribute of any particular class. Trevelyan claimed that `…walkers and cyclists tend to be the right sort of people'[45] and `rightness' can be related to three spheres- issues of sexual propriety, proper behaviour in the youth hostel and in the countryside. These will be considered in turn.

The standard arrangement of single-sex, segregated dormitories and the related lack of privacy were likely to prevent unacceptable sexual activity. However, at a National Executive

Committee meeting in September 1930 Trevelyan expressed doubts about the mixing of sexes. The discussion concluded that young people are determined to tramp together and `…if suitable accommodation is not provided for them they will sleep under haystacks.`[46] One might infer that unregulated proximity in haystacks might lead to more immorality than the demarcated youth hostel accommodation. Three years later an unnamed church dignitary raised concern over the moral aspect of YHA activity. This provoked an editorial response from John E. Walsh, who was also editor of *Hiker and Camper*, which stated: `…folk who loved the open air, who could tramp their twenty miles with full kit, and cook their own food at the end of the day –were a darned sight cleaner in mind and body than quite a lot of folk I could mention.'[47] Perhaps there is an ambiguity here; are the `clean' people the sort who are attracted to such physical exertion and the associated YH activities or does such activity produce the `cleanliness'? Perhaps there is a reciprocal relationship unfolding. In 1936 there appeared an editorial in *The Rucksack* by the Reverend Dick Sheppard entitled `Is Hiking Morally Dangerous?', reprinted from *The Sunday Express.* Sheppard concluded that it was not and that `vigorous outdoor exercise is in itself a way of keeping moral, as well as physical, health.'[48] Although 'moral' here may have wider connotations, there would seem to an implication of sexual self-control and discipline in this extract.

Similar sentiments were found in Coburn's 1950 history of the YHA. In a discussion of the values of the organisation he dealt with the issue of propriety. `Parents have learnt that they do not need to fear for their children's moral safety on a hostelling holiday. For dubious "goings-on" there is little enough scope at a youth hostel, and less privacy; and then, after hard and healthy exercise, the temptation towards such things is less.'[49] This

captures nicely the combination of the physical configuration of the hostel and the effects of exercise in reducing the risk of sexual impropriety.

The second aspect of correct behaviour or `rightness' involved respecting YHA regulations. Many of these reflected the ascetic and spartan tendencies which were identified in the first section above. Although absent from the 1931 Handbook, the 1932 edition noted that no intoxicants were allowed in hostels, `lights out' was at 10. 30 p.m. and `on departure members are expected to shake and fold blankets and brush and tidy up.'[50] Gambling was banned on YHA premises and motorised transport could not be used to travel between hostels. YH wardens had the right to impose sanctions, though these were rarely invoked. This suggests the vast majority of members respected the fairly lengthy list of proscriptions and injunctions because of their own self-discipline or the *esprit de corps* of the organisation rather than because of the threat of sanctions.[51]

The development of an *esprit de corps* among members and a sense of community was an important objective of the YHA. In the first Handbook of 1931 Baron detailed six aims of the movement. One was to provide freedom for youth `under guidance' and it was hoped that standards of behaviour would be maintained by *esprit de corps* rather than by discipline.[52] Reflecting again the Quaker influence, the physical space of the common room in the hostel was important in fostering a sense of community. The common room was a significant feature of the Educational Settlements Association, founded by Quakers, and *Common Room* was the title of its journal.[53] In the YHA, the benefits to, and development of, individuals through rural walking, alone or in groups, would be reinforced by the democratic, tolerant and consensual ethos of the common room. In Coburn's 1950 history of the movement, he states of the common room: `this is the

environment in which all classes and types can mingle successfully, the son of an employer with the son of an employee, the labourer and the clerk, the countryman and the townsman, the shy (now emboldened) and the hearty, the young and the old.'[54] This illustrated a wider theme: that the YHA was not solely about facilitating rural walking but also concerned with developing particular characteristics among members including self-discipline and respect for others.

The third sphere of proper behaviour involved acting correctly in the countryside. This is perhaps best understood by the indictments against the `wrong' sort of behaviour which included speeding through the countryside in charabancs, dropping litter, playing music and polluting water sources, with the right sort of behaviour being enshrined in versions of the Country Code which were developed in the 1930s. The first Handbook, published in 1931, listed a guide to countryside behaviour including injunctions to leave no litter, close field gates, not to light fires where they can cause damage and to respect wild flowers, trees and birds' nests.[55] Various editions of *YHA Rucksack* contained poster designs for the Council for the Protection of Rural England's Countryside Preservation Competition in the late 1930s against litter, flower-picking and the carving of names etc. in trees. The wrong sort of countryside behaviour was a common theme of the 1930s and C. E. M. Joad, the philosopher, broadcaster and author who was active in the Ramblers' Association, wrote a guide to correct behaviour entitled *A Charter for Ramblers: The Future of the English Countryside*.[56]

As indicated above, right and wrong behaviour cuts across classes. The infringement of codes of respectability could, and did, have middle-class culprits. One of the concerns for many countryside organisations in the 1930s was the rise in car ownership and the related

easy access to the countryside by people who did not know how to behave in it. Those who owned, or had access, to cars were not the working class. `Respectability' in the YHA construction is a somewhat amorphous admixture of frugality, self-discipline and comradeship which could be found in people of different classes. Indeed the YHA self-perception was of an organisation of equality and anti-snobbery.

The second issue concerning membership that gave rise to discussion in the YHA was its social class composition. Before looking at the YHA more specifically, it would be useful to consider the issue of class in the wider context of rambling. Both academic and non-academic histories of rambling often discuss the issue of class because it is both one of the concepts central to an exploration of British social history and because it was often an issue for contemporaries where class gradations and issues of status were of significance. However, there is no comprehensive data that charts the class position of the rambler. On the basis of the secondary literature, three generalisations can be made about interwar rambling. First, it was a mass activity in which both the middle classes and working class engaged.[57] Second, rambling groups in the North of England tended to be more working class than their southern counterparts, reflecting the demographics and social composition of England. Third, the working-class members of northern groups tended to come from the more skilled and more affluent sections of that class.[58]

For the purposes of this article, the exact composition of ramblers' groups or the class of ramblers *per se* is of less interest than the YHA response to its perception of the class location of its membership and why this should matter. It can be argued that there was a tension between the YHA's commitment to helping those of limited means and the ethos of respectability, which some have interpreted as being a barrier, if not antithetical, to

developing a more working-class membership.[59] At least in principle the YHA should have had the potential to reach out to the working class as there was an ethos of egalitarianism and anti-snobbishness that could embrace a pluralistic membership. One letter may not be representative; however it does indicate that for some the question of distinctions between members was invidious. In 1937, a letter published in *The Rucksack* attacked the proposal to giving mountaineers priority in certain hostels close to climbing areas. Such a policy would, claims the writer, produce a breeding ground for snobbishness, class distinction and false values as mountaineers tended to be more affluent than the average member.[60]

It was not until the late 1930s that the YHA discussed the composition of membership. The Annual Report of 1935 revealed that the proportion of membership to population was highest in Merseyside, Northumberland and Tyneside, Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester.[61] The Oxford and Cambridge figures included students and thus suggest a strongly middle-class element. However, it is difficult to extrapolate from the other areas since the membership of more proletarian cities could have been disproportionately middle class. In November 1937 the General Development Committee agreed that a letter be drafted to regions along the following lines: `the Executive Committee of the YHA is concerned that the Association is not developing among the lower-paid wage -earners, and it urges Regions to seek every means of bringing the opportunities afforded by the YHA to the notice of suitable organisations.'[62] In the same committee in April 1938, the chairman undertook to prepare a memo relating to this item.[63] In 1938, an editorial in *The Rucksack* entitled `Are we Black-Coated Snobs?' struck a reflective note: `if the YHA becomes respectable and tedious, if it cold-shoulders the young, the unemployed, the out of the ordinary –except at slack times, when there is nobody to feel annoyance –then it is doomed

to uselessness.' This reflected a relative lack of young and working-class members and it was implied that this had become more pressing as grants received from public bodies and statutory authorities brought an obligation of a wide and democratic recruitment.[64]

The detail of initiatives by the Regions remains obscure; however it seems that at the end of the 1930s the unskilled working class was under-represented in YHA membership. There are two possible reasons for this, and the relative weighting of each is difficult to assess and there may have been local and regional differences. First, the sort of holidays the YHA catered for presumably did not appeal to all and, however cheaply provided, some people would not be attracted. The YHA would not recruit among those who wanted the possibly more hedonistic and less active option of seaside holidays or, as the author and journalist S. P. B. Mais expressed it, `the bandstand and the pier and the overcrowded beach.'[65] The ethos of respectability may have been a disincentive for those who felt that the YHA's self-proclaimed inclusiveness and egalitarianism were overlain by a carapace of priggishness and earnestness which were unconducive to an enjoyable holiday.

Second, there is the issue of whether the working class, or poorer sections of it, could simply not afford such holidays. The variability of wages between different working-class jobs, uneven economic development within Britain, calculations about gross and net pay, and making estimates of relative costs and prices in the 1930s make it difficult to assess the extent to which cost was a disincentive to working-class membership and participation. However some approximate calculations suggest that YHA accommodation costs were low enough to be affordable for all but the poorest. Two estimates of income in the 1930s are that in 1935 23% of adult male workers earned less than £2 5s. per week and that in 1938 31% earned less than £2 10s. per week.[66] It may be deduced, therefore, that £2 a week was

a low wage. It is unclear if these are gross or net figures but in a period of low tax rates the 1s. per night accommodation charge by the YHA would be approximately one-fortieth of disposable income at that pay rate. By comparison, weekly income today would have to be £800 for the same ratio based on approximately £20 for the nightly charge (depending on the grade of hostel). Given higher income tax rates and other deductions compared to the 1930s, a gross weekly income of £1,000 would be the comparison- a figure more than twice the average salary. If this estimate is at all accurate, it suggests that accommodation prices were not a major disincentive. Another factor was that by 1939, after the Holiday with Pay Act of 1938, some 11 million employees had paid holidays compared with three million before the Act.[67] One correspondent to *The Rucksack* attributed the lack of paid holidays before this date to the limited number of working-class members; however there does not seem evidence that the impact of the Act increased the proportion of working-class YHA members.[68]

Of course, accommodation costs were only one factor, as another cost unavoidably incurred for most users was transport to the hostels and there is the issue of whether the location of hostels discouraged working-class usage. Lowerson argues that the location of the early hostels in Snowdonia and the Lake District meant that only the relatively well-off could use them and that the ramblers of the industrial areas were not provided for adequately.[69]

The point about the location of hostels is correct for Snowdonia, less so for the Lakes but potentially misleading. The predominance of hostels in Snowdonia reflects the activism of Merseyside groups prior to the formation of the national YHA and does not necessarily imply anything about the policy of the national organisation in relation to distribution.[70] In the first Handbook in 1931 64 hostels were listed, seven in North Wales, only two in the

Lake District and none in the Peak District; the last being the principal area which could serve the working-class ramblers of Sheffield and Manchester. The 1935 Handbook lists 30 hostels in the Lakeland Region, of which approximately 17 were in the Lake District and the establishment of eight in the Peak District.[71] By 1939 there were 31 hostels in the Lakeland Regional Group, of which 18 were in the Lake District, 18 in the Merseyside region of which 16 were in North Wales and ten or 11 in the Peak District which was administratively partly in the Manchester and District Region and partly in the North Midlands Region. These figures indicate an expansion of Lake District hostels that may have been out of reach of the working class financially and in terms of time. However there were concerted attempts to increase the provision of hostels in the Peak District closer to urban centres and some large-capacity and prestigious hostels were established.[72]

It should be noted that numbers do not tell the whole story. Increasing the number of hostels depended on many factors including the strength of local activism since Regions had the major responsibility for their establishment, finance, finding suitable properties, and occasionally overcoming planning objections and concerns about sanitation. The simple point is that a relative lack of hostels in the Peak District could have been a result of many factors and does not necessarily indicate some geographical and spatial bias by the YHA against the working-class walker.

There is also some evidence of attempts to extend hostel distribution to the benefit of the working class. The Manchester and District Regional Group recorded in 1933 that it was hoping to get two new hostels north of Bolton to serve those in northern industrial areas who could not afford the travelling expenses to reach other hostels in the Region, and one was secured near Chorley in 1934. With respect to the Peak District, the Annual Report of

the North Midlands Region for 1936 noted that a search for more suitable properties in mid-Derbyshire had been in vain and the Annual Report of the Manchester and District Region for 1937/8 recorded the on-going attempts to find a hostel in the Edale area. Edale is on the railway line between Sheffield and Manchester and this provision would thus seem to be targeted at walkers from these cities.[73] Despite these problems, by the late 1930s the hostel network in the Peak District allowed for seven days' consecutive walking between hostels.[74] Towards the end of the decade, the relative lack of provision close to big industrial populations was noted by John Cadbury, the Birmingham District representative to the National Executive Committee who became chairman in 1939, and he recommended hostel expansion in the Peaks and Pennines to address this issue.[75]

Although it is difficult to provide conclusive evidence, for those in work, as opposed to the unemployed, the cost of getting to hostels rather than accommodation costs may have been the more important factor. This would explain the attempt by some of the Northern regions to attempt to address the shortage of hostels proximate to industrial areas. The concentration of hostels in the Lake District, for example, does not necessarily demonstrate a lack of commitment to extend working-class usage. It may be noted that when more comprehensive market research was undertaken in the 1960s, in a period of relative working-class affluence, it was found that manual workers were massively under-represented among YHA members.[76] This suggests that in the later period it was the type of holiday, not the cost *per se*, that was the disincentive and it is plausible although not demonstrable beyond question that this could have been the case in the interwar period.

The politics of the domestic environment: unemployment and access

The two domestic political issues of the 1930s with which the YHA was most involved, albeit in a sporadic and somewhat moderate way, were unemployment and access. This involvement was unsurprising given the philanthropic tradition of many of the leading members of the organisation, which indicated that unemployment would be a concern, and, with respect to access, a movement devoted to outdoor activity could not easily avoid all consideration of this contentious issue.

The issue of unemployment will be considered first. The relief of some of the negative aspects of unemployment was one manifestation of the Quaker ethos of service discussed above and the Quakers were the most active of religious denominations in providing relief for the unemployed.[77] Additionally, the YHA had institutional links with organisations involved in forms of relief for the unemployed. Beyond provision of the dole, the Government was not prepared to take responsibility for schemes to help the unemployed. From 1932, the main organisation charged with the coordination of policy and schemes therein was the National Council of Social Service which had been influential in the establishment of the YHA. Among organisations providing activity for the unemployed and which had YHA connections were adult education colleges, including the Quaker-led Educational Settlements Association, the Workers' Travel Association, the Workers' Educational Association, the Co-operative Holidays Association and International Voluntary Service, founded by a Swiss Quaker which helped restore stables at Whitby Abbey for use by the YHA.[78]

Therefore there were strong institutional and personnel linkages between the YHA and groups more directly involved in provision for the unemployed. There was also a degree of ideological overlap in the cautious, paternalistic approach to the issue and the tendency to

view unemployment as a threat to the psychological state of individuals affected, leading to the risk of demoralisation and apathy, rather than to develop a critique of it as a structural problem of capitalism.[79] Therefore, the role of the YHA could again be seen as an attempt to deal with political issues in a somewhat apolitical manner.

In 1934, *YHA Rucksack* contained two articles about workcamps for the unemployed; one written by Rolf Gardiner and one by A. T. Westlake about Grith Fyrd, an outdoor camp organised by the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry. In this article, Westlake claimed that `The Order felt very clearly that the unemployment problem was fundamentally not so much an economic as a psychological problem.'[80] This sentiment bears out the YHA's view of unemployment and, although from a separate organisation, its reproduction in their magazine suggests an implicit endorsement of this conception of unemployment and a disregard of its structural features. The impact of workcamps was relatively limited; however they are of interest as another example of the ideological and personnel linkages and connections that have been discussed above. The Westlake family were Quakers and the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry had received financial support from Quakers until the late 1920s, when the Order moved away from its religious roots. Despite some ideological differences, Gardiner knew and co-operated with those in Grith Fyrd in part because both shared ideas concerning the virtues of outdoor life, simplicity, community, organicism and a critique of modernity. These were also ideas which had a resonance for many in the YHA. Quakers were active in the campaign to expand Grith Fyrd in the mid-1930s and its principal organiser, Guy Keeling, received patronage from the Rowntree family, and the movement had offices in Toynbee Hall whose warden was J. J. Mallon, the YHA activist.[81]

Comment [TS10]: Haven't you mentioned thi already?

One response to unemployment by the YHA was to offer some concessions to the unemployed. With respect to national publications, the 1932 Handbook stated that the unemployed could use hostels at certain times of the year without being members as long as the group leader was a member.[82] It made no mention of discounts; however the first *YHA Rucksack* of 1933 announced the provision by the London Regional Council of free accommodation for trips for the unemployed, although they would contribute to the costs of food to avoid the stigma of charity.[83] The reference to London suggests that Regions had autonomy with respect to the details of the concessions.

The numbers of unemployed availing themselves of free YHA accommodation is unclear, although there is some evidence to suggest it was relatively small. First, in the year of introduction, *YHA Rucksack* only records two trips- one of five unemployed men in Kent and one of eight men plus their leader in North Wales entitled `Nine Men Find Themselves.'[84] Second, there is little mention of the scheme in national magazines between 1934 and 1937, when there is a discussion of its extension which indicated `take up' had been low. In July 1937 Regional Secretaries were sent a copy of a letter from Fairclough, Honorary Secretary of the Merseyside Region, to Reid, Secretary of the Wear, Tees and Eskdale Region, on the subject of subsidising visits by the unemployed. Part of it read `…we have encouraged this scheme as strongly as possible, and still we are not swamped with applications and I suggest that you will find a similar experience.'[85] In September 1937, the General Development Committee undertook to consider the uniform and increased use of hostels by the unemployed including free accommodation and one-third reduction in meal costs. It was also proposed that the more affluent Regions should finance the transport and other costs if the unemployed came from a different Region. Temporary free membership passes were

discussed and Regional Secretaries were encouraged to discuss the logistics of increased use with organisers of Community Councils, Social Service centres and Labour Exchanges.[86]

A consideration of regional material adds something to the picture, although the information is rather fragmentary. The following section records the coverage of unemployment in the Annual Reports of a sample of ten regions, including the larger northern ones and South Wales in which unemployment was above the national average: Manchester and District, Merseyside, West Riding, Northumberland and Tyneside, Wear, Tees and Eskdale, Lakeland, North Midlands, Birmingham, South Wales and London. There is only one mention of the scheme in the Manchester and District Region, when the Annual Report for 1935-36 noted that it was hoped that the unemployed could use hostels at a reduced rate in the week; however the scheme had faced `unforeseen difficulties' of which no further details are given.[87] The Merseyside Region announced in 1932 that free use of hostels for the unemployed was being arranged for the winter months. Further support was formalised in early 1935 when the Honorary Secretary was empowered to pay the travelling expenses of unemployed applicants and up to 5s. per week in respect of food costs if funds permitted.[88] In the year to September 1936 48 people, including three parties, were accommodated for one or two week trips.[89] These became centred on one hostel as Labour Exchange officials had informed the Honorary Secretary that the unemployed should be resident at one hostel to enable their speedy return in case of work becoming available.[90] 1936 may have been the peak year as the Annual Report for the year ending September 1937 noted the disappointing numbers taking advantage of the scheme.[91] The scheme of subsidising food and travel continued until 1939, with Bala and Llanrwst being the principal hostels used. As with other regions, the precise demand for support from the unemployed

or the resources devoted to it is unclear, although there are references to the small balance of the fund and a resolution in 1937 to place donation boxes in each hostel for unemployed holiday provision.[92]

In the north-east, there was no reference to the scheme at all by the Northumberland and Tyneside Region, and in Wear, Tees and Eskdale it was noted that there was a more extensive use of the scheme in 1935 than the previous year and in 1936 several unemployed parties had visited hostels. The Annual Reports of 1937 and 1938 recorded the scheme's use but gave no figures.[93] Information from the West Riding Region was also sketchy; the Annual Report for 1932-33 recorded that two unemployed parties had used hostels at the reduced prices of 6d. per night. Three of the four subsequent Annual Reports mentioned the scheme but gave no figures regarding `take up' or expenditure on it.[94] The Lakeland Region reports differ from most others in three respects. They record specific hostels that were used by the unemployed (Grasmere, Keswick and Cockermouth), the important role of a particular organisation in organising trips, the Whitehaven Council of Social Service, and that the scheme included the wives of unemployed men. Four parties used the scheme in 1933 and `many parties' in 1934 and 1937 and, as with most regions, no precise figures are given.

The difficulty of accurate estimates is illustrated by the example of the North Midlands. Unlike other Regions, the Annual Reports of the Region make no reference to the scheme; however the Region's report of activities to *Rucksack* in 1936 recorded that nearly 250 people `affected by unemployment' had holidays that summer.[95] In the Birmingham Region, a large party of unemployed men from Birmingham had visited a Welsh hostel in 1933 and the following three Annual Reports recorded the use of hostels by unemployed parties with no further details and from 1937 onwards there is no mention of the scheme.[96] In South

Wales the scheme was first mentioned in 1935 and the Annual Report of the following year noted the disappointingly low uptake of the scheme and the need for more publicity via affiliated organisations and area sub-committees.[97] The following year the report noted that no unemployed groups had taken account of the group voucher scheme and it was hoped that the recent concession of no overnight charge would encourage usage. Another item noted: `…steps ought to be taken immediately to encourage a further use of South Wales hostels by the unemployed, who at present make no use of them at all, in strong contrast with certain other regions.'[98] No regions were specified and whatever steps taken proved inadequate as the 1938 Report recorded that there had been no group usage by the unemployed.[99] Finally, the London Region recorded that in 1933 several unemployed parties had used the Pilgrim's Way chain of hostels.[100] This seemed to mark the peak of usage as the subsequent annual reports have no mention of such trips, although they are detailed by the standards of Regional reports.

There appears to be no dedicated figures of usage by the unemployed. However, the admittedly fragmentary evidence suggests that use of hostels by the unemployed was relatively small and there is evidence that some regions hoped that it would be more extensive. Some regions indicate that the low usage was because of a lack of publicity or logistical difficulties in liaising with other agencies, including state ones, to organise the trips. Another factor could be that the majority of the unemployed were not interested in the sort of holiday the YHA offered, even if subsidised. It was argued above that the working class was under-represented in YHA and that class, and often the unskilled stratum, was over-represented in the ranks of the unemployed. Therefore, the unemployed were not generally a constituency to which the YHA could appeal and make inroads.

There was no further discussion of unemployment at national level after 1937 and, within two years, the outbreak of war began to ease the problem. In conclusion, it can be stated that the YHA's interventions in the area of unemployment were marked by a philanthropic, occasionally paternalistic, ideology which was more concerned with addressing the impact of indolence and lethargy on the unemployed than developing a critique of the broader economic context.[101]

The second political issue that impinged upon the YHA in the 1930s was the access campaign. In principle, the YHA could have stayed aloof from the issue of access to privately-owned land and focused solely on providing more accommodation for those using existing rights-of-way and accessible land. In fact, the YHA has been accused of neglecting or downplaying the issue of access; however it did not ignore it entirely and an attempt will be made here to map out its position and attitudes.

The history of the campaigns for access will not be recounted here as they have been recorded elsewhere. However, before an assessment of the YHA position is made, some degree of contextualisation is needed. The outdoor movement in the 1930s has sometimes been examined via the binary divide of `preservationists', composed of those groups and organisations that wished to preserve the countryside (and buildings of note) from urban encroachment and dereliction respectively, and `access' groups whose primary objective was to increase the amount of land accessible to walkers. Archetypes of the first group are the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and the National Trust and representative of the second were rambling groups. Although many individuals associated with `preservationist' organisations in the late Victorian period were liberals or socialists, it has been argued that in the interwar years they became more conservative.[102] By comparison,

the rambling groups' focus on access is often seen as a more radical position informed by working-class concerns. The situation is less clear-cut than this, as some writers have indicated. There were hundreds of rambling groups and a strong tradition of localism in many, so attitudes to the issue of access were varied.[103]

However, two observations will be offered here. The first is that the issue of access was much more pertinent in particular areas than others. In fact, virtually all the well-documented and celebrated access campaigns were located either in the Peak District or, especially in earlier periods, parts of Lancashire. In other parts of northern England, southern England and Snowdonia access was relatively unrestricted and less of an issue.[104] One illustration of this is that the Northumberland and Tyneside representative to the Northern Advisory Board of the YHA argued that there was no need for the proposed Pennine Way in the four northern (unspecified) counties because of existing access to the moors. The introduction of special paths might cause landowners to restrict these privileges and insist on the use of marked paths. He conceded that things were different at the southern end of the proposed long-distance path.[105]

The principal activists concerned about access in rambling groups tended to represent northern areas and particularly those concerned about access to the Peak District. For example, at the Executive Committee meeting of the National Council of Ramblers' Federations at Stratford in September 1934 a resolution was carried that access to mountains and moorland was the most important issue before ramblers and that a sub-committee should be appointed to pursue the matter `in every possible direction.'[106] This resolution was moved by Morton of the Sheffield and District Federation and seconded by Staniforth of Nottingham and Derbyshire. The subsequent sub-committee of the Ramblers'

Association, which succeeded the National Council of Ramblers' Federations in 1935, was dominated by northern representatives and chaired by Edwin Royce. He had been appointed vice-chairman of the Ramblers' Association because he was not eligible for membership of the council, being a member of the Manchester Federation, which had not joined the Association.[107] Other leading members included GHB Ward (Sheffield), Morton, Sclater (West Riding) and Brown (West Riding). In April 1939 a letter was drafted to be sent to MPs opposing the changes to, and emasculation of, the Access to Mountains Bill by twelve activists who described themselves as `persons with lifelong associations with the fight for access.' In common with earlier trends, the list of signatories was dominated by northern representatives of the Ramblers' Association and Yorkshire Federations in particular.[108]

By contrast, there was a perception that some federations, particularly in the south, were not exercised by the access issue because it did not affect where they lived or holidayed.[109] Towards the end of the decade, there were some indications of mobilisation in the south, with a public meeting in support of the Access Bill organised by the Southern Federation in February 1939 and in May 1939 a rally in Surrey was organised by the Progressive Rambling Club, with the help of London YHA, Workers' Travel Association, and the London Groups of Holiday Fellowship and the Ramblers' Association. This was viewed by Tom Stephenson, one of the most active and influential individuals within the rambling movement who was also a Workers' Travel Association representative on the YHA National Executive Committee in 1938/9 , as a degree of unprecedented southern mobilisation.[110]

The second observation is that the campaigns of the Ramblers' Association, around access or other issues, were largely played out through constitutional and pressure-group politics.

This has influenced some rather strange judgements from those who appear to sympathise with more radical politics. For example, Trentmann notes that the `old radical demand for public access' persisted in the interwar years despite his claim that the rambling movement had become non-political. He then claims that `real friction' only occurred once in the form of the Kinder Trespass, as though the political lobbying for access by the Ramblers' Association can be dismissed as a frictionless exercise; a somewhat strange interpretation given the persistent opposition to access and the emasculation of the 1939 Access to Mountains Bill.[111]

To return to the YHA, it is instructive to consider its position through the binary divide outlined above despite the possible simplifications of that schema. This is because the organisation had `a foot in both camps' in that it had both personnel and organisational linkages with the two types of organisation. It is impossible to estimate how many members of the YHA were also members of rambling groups; however there appears to be much close local collaboration.

At national level, three prominent YHA figures, T. A. Leonard, H. H. Symonds and Tom Fairclough, had leading roles in rambling organisations. The role and positions held by Leonard and Symonds were detailed in the first section above; Fairclough was active in the Liverpool District Ramblers' Association, which was instrumental in the foundation of the YHA. Organisationally, ramblers groups were affiliates of the YHA National Council from its foundation. In 1931 the Federation of Rambling Clubs affiliated and its successor organisations, the National Council of Ramblers' Federations and the Ramblers' Association, affiliated later in the 1930s.

While there were close links to the `access' movement, senior YHA figures were closely connected to some of the `preservationist' groups. As noted above, the president, Trevelyan, held an important position in the National Trust and vice-president Patrick Abercrombie was a founding member of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England. According to Lowerson, the overlapping membership with these two organisations helps to explain the YHA's `controlled and cautious view of the implications of mass rambling…' [112]

As well as overlap of personnel, the YHA had organisational links to many organisations which could be labelled `preservationist.' For example, by 1936 it had a representative on committees of the following bodies: the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, the Council for the Preservation of Rural Wales, National Parks, the Standing Committee of Open Air Organisations, the Pedestrians' Association, as well as various government bodies promoting physical exercise.[113] However, the picture is made slightly more complex as the Committee of Open Air Organisations included the Ramblers' Association.

The balance of evidence suggests that the YHA was, in its early years, relatively inactive and unconcerned about the issue of access. Bunce states that: `it [the YHA] immediately became embroiled in the access issue, appearing at public meetings alongside the Ramblers' Association and the Commons Society.'[114] However, his seems to be a minority position. Bassett, in the introduction to records of the Ramblers' Association, claims that there is no evidence that the YHA, or other members of the Open Air Committee, actively supported the Ramblers' Association or its predecessors on the access question.[115] Lowerson, in trenchant manner, claims that the rambling organisations regarded the YHA as `pussyfooting' around the issue.[116] Tom Stephenson claims that the YHA took little interest in the question of access in its early years (see also below).[117] While it does not mean his

claim is necessarily correct, Stephenson's involvement in both the YHA and the Ramblers' Association gives a degree of plausibility to his position.

The claim that the YHA was relatively uninvolved in access campaigns is supported by the lack of discussion of the issue in YHA publications until 1937. This was in the context of the Access to Mountains Bill which was to be introduced by the Labour MP, Arthur Creech Jones.[118] An editorial in *The Rucksack* by T. A. Leonard, YHA vice-president, urged support for the Bill and, in the following edition, the editorial notes reported that the Ramblers' Association was critical of the YHA for not promoting the cause of National Parks, footpath maintenance, as well as access to mountains. Interestingly, the editorial is non-committal in that it does not deny the allegations and puts the issues out to the readership for comment.[119]

At the National Council meeting of April 1938 H. H. Symonds called for closer links with, and support for, both the Ramblers' Association and the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and at an National Executive Committee meeting in May the chairman reported on a letter outlining proposals for co-operation between the YHA and the Ramblers' Association.[120] There was at least one dissenting voice. In an undated paper marked `confidential' a member of the General Development sub-committee of the National Executive Committee and a representative from the Ramblers' Association warned against YHA support for access. `If …the YHA openly not only supports the Access Bill but plays an active part in furthering it, then it is good-bye to any further hostels in the Pennines and good-bye to our chances of renewing leases of existing hostels.'[121]

In June 1938 the YHA Executive Committee discussed the possibility of assisting the Ramblers' Association and referred the issue to the Committee on Co-operation with Open

Air bodies. In September, the Executive Committee reported that the sub-committee had recommended a grant of £50 from the National Executive Committee to the Ramblers' Association for aspects of their work which would be of service to the YHA. Mention is made of footpath activism and map production but access is not mentioned.[122] In November, the Finance Committee agreed to recommend a £10 donation to the Ramblers' Association for 1938, £25 for 1939 and to ask Regions to find another £25 in 1939.[123] In the same month Stephenson moved a motion of support for the Access to Mountains Bill in the National Executive. He described this occasion as `…a notable event in the annuals (sic) of the YHA' as it marked a shift in the YHA towards a more rigorous support for access.[124] That this marked something of a departure is indicated by Stephenson's observation in a letter to Stephen Morton that support for the motion was …`much to the surprise of the older members.'[125] In February 1939 the Executive Committee noted with satisfaction that a number (unspecified) of Regional Groups had agreed to make financial contributions to the Ramblers' Association.[126]

The first two editions of *The Rucksack* of 1939 recorded support for the Access to Mountains Bill, with the second admitting that the YHA had not been vigorous enough previously in support of access claims and included an article by Sir Charles Trevelyan, brother of the president, supporting access.[127] The following edition revealed the frustration felt by the outdoor movement at amendments to the bill to include the criminalisation of trespass.[128] The editorial stated: `we must take action, and it must be strong political action. We shall have to find a political party which will make the abolition of the Game Laws a main item in its programme.' By the standards of the YHA, this was a strongly political statement.

It seems evident that the YHA became more exercised by the access issue in the late 1930s. This may reflect the issue becoming more prominent among the outdoor movement generally, which is in part explained by the more militant voice of the Ramblers' Association as expressed by Edwin Royce, who became editor of its journal in 1935, and other northern representatives discussed above. There is no evidence of a radicalisation of the leadership of the YHA. It seems more likely that their more explicit endorsement of access from approximately 1937 onwards reflected a shift in the mood and renewed mobilisation in the broader outdoor movement.

Conclusion

The Youth Hostels Association was founded to provide cheap accommodation for rural walking and cycling. This provision, however, took place within certain ideological and cultural assumptions. Support for countryside recreation, particularly walking, was linked to concepts of simplicity, service and improvement derived from Quakerism and other non-conformist and progressive traditions. This influenced both the type of people attracted to the YHA and the form of political interventions the organisation undertook. The extent and form of its intervention in attempts to relieve unemployment were informed by both an ostensible apolitical stance and a philanthropic commitment which resulted in a cautious and reformist approach criticised by the contemporary left and later commentators. The YHA's involvement in the access movement was marked by both a degree of caution informed by this apolitical stance and countervailing pressures influenced by the close institutional and personal links between the YHA and ramblers' organisations which made it difficult for the YHA to remain aloof from the issue. As argued

above, all public interventions involve a politics of sorts and this article has tried to illustrate the interconnection of religious ideas, cultural assumptions and political dispositions that both influenced the type of membership attracted to the YHA and determined the political interventions of the organisation in the 1930s.

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Notes

[1] This article considers specifically the YHA of England and Wales. The Scottish YHA was organisationally separate from 1931.

[2] London Conference, 10 April 1930 cited in Maurice-Jones and Porter, *The Spirit of YHA,* 45. A clause `especially of limited means' was added later in 1948. For a history of the early years of the YHA see Maurice-Jones and Porter, *Eighty Years of Youth Hostelling* and Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story: the first twenty years in England and Wales*, chs 1-3.

[3] Figures from Annual Report 1939 (Y440001, YHA archive, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham. All references hereafter Y… refer to this archive).

[4] For the latter see Williams, *The Country and the City* and Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980.* For a detailed account of this ideology in the YHA in this period see Cunningham, `"Pavements grey of the imprisoning city": the articulation of a pro-rural and anti-urban ideology in the Youth Hostels Association (YHA) in the 1930s.'

[5] Handbook, 1931, 7 (Y430001); `General Information', Handbook 1937, 9 (Y430001).

[6] The principal source for this study is the YHA's own publications so the focus will be on how the organisation (or contributors to its publications) viewed these issues. This raises the methodological issue that not all the views of contributors would necessarily be endorsed by the editors or that not all senior figures within the movement would `speak with one voice.' However, if a piece appeared in the Handbook of the YHA for members or the quarterly magazine *The Rucksack*, it is reasonable to infer that it reflected or represented views held by at least some of the principal figures or a proportion of the wider membership.

[7] For Quaker influence in the YHA and other organisations, see Freeman, `Fellowship, service and the "spirit of adventure."'

[8] Maurice-Jones and Porter, *Eighty Years of Youth Hostelling,* 10.

[9] A photograph of the memorial is in Hope `York HF Rambling Club' (http://www. Yorkrambling.btck.co.uk/ About the founderofchahf (accessed 25 June 2013). Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday*, plate 18.
[10] See Collins, `The Problem of Quaker Identity.'
[11] Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, 254-55.
[12] Obituaries of Baron and Major both emphasise the importance of service in their lives. J. Simpson, `Memories of "Barkis"', *Youth Hosteller*, August 1964, 7 (Y610008); `John W. Major', *Youth Hosteller,* May 1966, 6-7 (Y610001-4).
[13] For more details of the ideology of the CHA, see Snape, `The Co-operative Holidays Association and the cultural formation of countryside leisure practice.'
[14] CHA minute book cited in Snape, `The Co-operative Holidays Association and the cultural formation of countryside leisure practice', 148.
[15] Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside,* 212-14.
[16] COPEC published a report on leisure which emphasised `Christian morality, outdoor activities, hobby societies and social service' as acceptable uses of leisure time. Snape and Pussard, `Theorisations of leisure in inter-war Britain', 11.
[17] See Morris, `Ernest Thompson Seton and the Origins of the Woodcraft Movement' and Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements 1883-1940,* ch. 7.
[18] Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside*, 218.
[19] Maurice-Jones and Porter, *Eighty Years*, 11.
[20] Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit,* 87.
[21] Handbook, 1937, 3 (Y430001).
[22] Griffiths, *Labour and the Countryside,* 82.
[23] Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*.
[24] Access to land was often denied by municipal authorities. It was not always aristocrats or the privileged who were responsible for the lack of access. See Hill, *Freedom to Roam* and Stephenson, *Forbidden Land*.
[25] This episode has been recited many times and will not be repeated here. See Hill, *Freedom to Roam* and Stephenson, *Forbidden Land.*
[26] For more details of the BWSF see Jones, *Sport, politics and the working class,* ch. 7.
[27] Yates, `The Evolution and Development of the YHA of England and Wales' (Worcester, BA. Thesis, 1986, 70; Y629001).
[28] See Rothman cited in Jones, *Workers at Play,* 65.
[29] Many rambling groups resented the action or denied its significance. Rothman claims that the Sheffield Federation was less antagonistic than the Manchester Federation as it was more of a `grassroots' movement (Rothman, *The 1932 Kinder Trespass,* p. 19). Some ramblers' groups were connected to the Labour Party and this was a factor at a time of strained relations between the Labour and Communist Parties. Holt claims that both Communists and the BUF attended access rallies for recruitment purposes and were resented by rambling groups (Holt, `Hikers and Ramblers: Surviving a Thirties' Fashion', 59).
[30] Linehan, *British Fascism 1918-39,* 245-268.
[31] For details of Jenks and connections to Gardiner see Moore-Colyer, `Towards "Mother Earth": Jorian Jenks, Organicism, the Right and the British Union of Fascists'.
[32] **See ch. 10 of Linehan, *British Fascism 1918 -39: parties, ideology and culture.* For a more detailed study see Higginbottom, *Intellectuals and British Fascism: Study of Henry Williamson.***
[33] Minutes of Executive Committee: Open Council Meeting, Welwyn, 27 June 1930, 4 (Y700003-1).
[34] Cited in Matless, *Landscape and Englishness,* 122. See also Jeffries and Tyldesley (eds), *Rolf Gardiner: Folk, Nature and Culture in Inter-War Britain*; Boyes, *The Imagined Village: culture, ideology and the English Folk Revival*, ch. 7; Stone, `The Far Right and the Back-to-the-Land Movement' and Stone, `The English Mistery, the BUF and the Dilemmas of British Fascism'.
[35] Item 3c, Executive Report, London, 18 March 1931 (Y700003-1).
[36] Handbook, 1931, 9 (Y430001). Reference to the Wessex Hikers' Lodges is also found in Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*.
[37] National Council Meeting, Welwyn, 10 April 1932 (Y700003-1).
[38] *YHA Rucksack* 2 no. 3, 1934, 35-6 (Y500001); see also section below on unemployment.
[39] As a postscript, some members of the London Region approached Gardiner in 1949 for advice on the establishment of forestry courses at a hostel in Kent. (`Notes on meeting with Rolfe (sic) Gardiner, Wednesday May 11th 1949', Box 91, Herbert Gatliff Papers, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford). This became the short-lived YH farm project in Kent, which was wound up in late 1950 because of financial difficulties. (See editions

of `"Golden Corn": the YHA Farm Bulletin', Y239101). It does not appear that Gardiner was involved in this project.

[40] That Gardiner knew at least some leading figures is supported by Catchpool's obituary of Trevelyan, the former President, in 1962. Catchpool records that it was Rolf Gardner (sic) of Fontmell Magna, Dorset who first suggested that Trevelyan should be president. This is Rolf Gardiner. (*Youth Hosteller* 30 no. 9, 1962, 10, Y610005-1).

[41] Moore-Colyer, `Towards "Mother Earth"', 367.

[42] Item 99, minutes of Executive Committee meeting, London, 2 December 1933 (Y700003/2).

[43] Members of the family held regional and national posts and Cadbury charities and trusts supported the YHA. It was noted at a meeting of the Northern Advisory Board in 1936 that political magazines should be refused by Regional Secretaries. Literature of `Kindred Associations' and the publicising of church services were permitted (NAB meeting, N. A. B. 17, Chester 24-25 October, 1936; Box 80, Herbert Gatliff Papers).

[44] See Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society* and Kirk, *Change, continuity and class* 111-140 for the historiography of the concept.

[45] `Men and Mountains', *YHA Rucksack*, 4 no. 3, 1936, 49 (Y500001).

[46] NEC, Birmingham, 20-21 September 1930, 1-2 (Y700003-1).

[47] *YHA Rucksack*, 1 no. 4, 1933, 49, 53 (Y500001).

[48] *YHA Rucksack*, 4 no. 4, 1936, 81 (Y500001).

[49] Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story,* 176.

[50] Handbook, 1932, 18 (Y430001).

[51] *The Spectator* noted that the YHA hoped that *esprit de corps* would ensure a high standard of behaviour (*Spectator,* 5 June 1931, 4: http:// archive.spectator.co.uk/article/6th-june-1931/4/the-youth-hostel-movement, accessed 22 October 2013). One sanction was that those arriving late at hostels would be liable to non-admission and to be reported to the Regional Secretary (Handbook, 1933, 13: Y430001). The Annual Report of 1935 recorded that no breaches `of consequence' had been reported to the NEC (21; Y440001). The item on discipline does not appear in later Annual Reports which suggests it was not a problem.

[52] **B. Baron `The Aim of the Association', Handbook, 1931, 4-7 (Y430001).**

[53] **Freeman, `Fellowship, service and the "spirit of adventure"', 82.**

[54] Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story,* 176. Coburn was a Quaker.

[55] Handbook, 1931, 10 (Y430001).

[56] London: Hutchinson, 1934. Post –war he wrote *The Untutored Townsman's Invasion of the Country*.

[57] Burchardt, *Paradise Lost,* 125. The social class location of ramblers is made more complex, of course, by the lack of an uncontested definition of class. For example, Lowerson refers to `white-collar workers' while others classify such a stratum as lower-middle class (Lowerson, `Battles for the Countryside', 268). In light of the discussion in the YHA, routine white-collar workers will be classified as lower-middle class although a Marxian classification based on the selling of labour power would tend to locate them as a stratum of the working class.

[58] Holt claims that the composition of interwar organised rambling was principally lower-middle and upper-working class (Holt, `Hikers and Ramblers', 59). Trentmann identifies `skilled workers, artisans and subordinate professionals' as the main components of the open-air movement who were reacting to the reduction in autonomy in the workplace (Trentmann, `Civilization and its Discontents: English Neo-Romanticism and the Transformation of Anti-Modernism in Twentieth-Century Western Culture', 590).

[59] Both Jones and Trentmann view rambling clubs and the YHA as unappealing to the proletariat because of their establishment `feel.'

[60] *YHA Rucksack,* 5 no. 1, 1937, 18 (Y500001).

[61] Annual Report, 1935, 5 (Y440001).

[62] Item 391: minutes of General Development Committee, London, 21 November 1937 (Y700003-5).

[63] Item 603: minutes of General Development Committee, London, 2 April 1938 (Y700003-5).

[64] *YHA Rucksack* 6 no. 1, 1938 (Y500001). `Black-coated' is a reference to clerks and white-collar employment.

[65] Mais in *YHA Rucksack* 1 no. 1, 1932, 5 (Y500001).

[66] Cited in Branson and Heinemann, *Britain in the Nineteen Thirties,* 147; Stevenson, *British Society 1914-45,* 119-20.

[67] Branson and Heinemann, *Britain in the Nineteen Thirties,* 79.

[68] *YHA Rucksack* 6 no. 3, 1938, 75, (Y500001).

[69] Lowerson, `Battles for the Countryside', 272.

[70] A resolution at the inaugural meeting of the Merseyside Group in December 1929 read `that this meeting is in favour of preceding with the formation of a local Youth Hostels Association for the purpose of providing YHs

in North Wales, and any other area which may be desirable' (cited in Taylor, *The Pioneering Years of the youth hostel movement on Merseyside 1929-1936,* 5. A copy is held in Box 52 of the Herbert Gatliff Papers).
[71] The Lakeland Region covered a greater area than that normally considered to be the Lake District and that which constituted the post-war National Park.
[72] Including Derwent Hall, Ilam Hall, Hartington Hall and Ravenstor.
[73] 5th Annual Report, 1936, np (Y250036); 8th Annual Report 1937/8, 3 (Y240035/A). After four years' search, a hostel was opened at Edale in 1939.
[74] *YHA Rucksack* 6 no. 2, 1938, 45 (Y500001).
[75] *YHA Rucksack,* 6 no. 3, 1938, 65, 77 (Y500001).
[76] `YHA National Membership Survey Report' (Parfitt Report), 1963, 29-30 (Y716001).
[77] Hayburn, `The Voluntary Occupational Centre Movement', 168
[78] Details of the Whitby restoration can be found in F. Bruce-Cole `Practical Internationalism', *YHA Rucksack* 1 no. 2, 1933, 24.
[79] For example, Lowerson, `Battles for the Countryside' refers to the `paternalism' of YHA provision (272) and a contemporary communist Allen Hutt identified both Quakers and NCSS personnel among those whose policies demoralised the unemployed (Stevenson and Cook, *The Slump: society and politics during the depression,* 72). For voluntary service provision and some critiques from the Left, see Olechnowicz, `Unemployed Workers, "enforced leisure" and education for "the right use of leisure" in Britain in the 1930s'.
[80] *YHA Rucksack* 2 no. 2, 1934, 21 (Y500001).
[81] See ch. 9 of Field, *Working Men's Bodies.*
[82] Handbook, 1932, 19 (Y430001).
[83] *YHA Rucksack* 1 no. 2, 1933, 17 (Y500001).
[84] *YHA Rucksack* 1 no. 3, 1933, 42; *YHA Rucksack* 1 no. 5, 1933, 67 (Y500001).
[85] R. 157, 5 July 1937. Box 83, Herbert Gatliff Papers. However, an earlier report noted that 36 unemployed people had used the scheme of no overnight charge in 1934/5 (Report of the Council for the year ended 30th September 1935 for First Annual General Meeting, Merseyside YH Ltd, Box 107, Herbert Gatliff Papers).
[86] Item 200, GDC minutes, Warwick, 4-5 September 1937 (Y700003-5).
[87] 6th Annual Report, 1935-36, 4 (Y240001).
[88] Minutes of Executive Committee, Merseyside Group, 6 February 1935 (Liverpool Records Office, 796 YOU 1/2/2).
[89] Merseyside Group `Balance Sheet and Report of the Council for the year ended 30th September 1936' (Y245001).
[90] Minutes of Executive Committee, Merseyside Group, 2 May 1936 (796 YOU 1/2/2).
[91] Merseyside Group `Balance Sheet and Report of the Council for the year ended 30th September 1937', (Y245001).
[92] Minutes of Council, Merseyside Group, 13 September 1937 (796 YOU 1/2/2).
[93] Wear, Tees and Eskdale Region Annual Reports (Y280001).
[94] West Riding Regional Group Annual Reports (Y285001).
[95] *YHA Rucksack* 4 no. 4, 1936, 101 (Y500001).
[96] Birmingham Regional Group Annual Reports (Y205033).
[97] `Report of the South Wales Regional Council for the year ended 30th September 1936' np. (Y270001).
[98] Item 10: `Report of the South Wales Regional Council for the year ended 30th September 1937' (Y270001).
[99] Item 5: `Report of the South Wales Regional Council for the year ended 30th September 1938' (Y270001).
[100] London Region. `Annual Report year ended 30th September 1933', 7 (Y235001).
[101] Catchpool commented on one trip that it would help restore the health and confidence of those involved (`The Unemployed in the Countryside', *YHA Rucksack*, 1 no. 2, 1933, 17: Y430001).
[102] Burchardt, *Paradise Lost,* 99-103.
[103] Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside* emphasises the ideological and social diversity of rambling groups, 245-6.
[104] Walker, `The Popularisation of the Outdoor Movement, 1900-1940'; Walton, `The Northern Rambler', 247.
[105] Northern Advisory Board, minutes of meeting, Grasmere, 21-22 May 1938 (Box 80, Herbert Gatliff Papers).
[106] NCRF, Stratford, 30 September 1934 np. (Ramblers' Association archive, London Metropolitan archives. LMA/4287/01/01/001. All references hereafter LMA…refer to this archive).
[107] The Manchester Federation was concerned about the southern domination of the movement and this has been interpreted as also a concern over access not being pursued actively (see Stephenson, *Forbidden Land* ch. 2; Burchardt, *Paradise Lost*, 125). However access was not raised at a meeting at Chester in February 1939

when the RA met with the Manchester Federation to try to persuade it to join the national organisation (LMA/4287/01/01/002). Manchester declined at this meeting but joined at the end of 1939.
[108] The signatories, with regional affiliation where known, were Baker, Barnes (NE Lancs.), Brown (West Riding), Joad, Morton (Sheffield), Robinson (West Riding), Royce (Manchester), Sclater (West Riding), Spence (Lakes), Stephenson, Tysoe (Liverpool and District) and Ward (Sheffield).
[109] This was specifically expressed by Royce.
[110] Stephenson (*Daily Herald* 6 May 1939: press cuttings file, LMA/4287/06/01/005).
[111] Trentmann, `Civilization and its Discontents', 585-6.
[112] Lowerson, `Battles for the Countryside', 271.
[113] Annual Report, 1936, 25 (Y440001).
[114] Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal,* 181. In 1931, the Executive Committee of the YHA noted its close co-operation with the Ramblers' Federation. This does necessarily mean support for access (Executive Committee minutes, London, 11 July 1931; Y700003-1).
[115] Bassett, `List of the historical records of the Ramblers' Association'.
[116] Lowerson, `Battles for the Countryside', 273.
[117] Stephenson, *Forbidden Land*, 166.
[118] Creech Jones had been WTA representative on the YHA NEC in 1935. He was the new sponsor of the Bill as E. Mallalieu had not been elected in the 1935 general election.
[119] *YHA Rucksack* 5 no. 3, 1937, 65 (Y500001); `Editorial Notes', *YHA Rucksack* 5 no. 4, 1937, 101 (Y500001).
[120] Item 50, Executive Committee minutes, London, 7 May 1938 (Y700003-5). It is not clear; however the inference is that the letter was from the RA.
[121] A handwritten annotation suggests that the author was one L. E. Morris; Tom Stephenson's name having being earlier annotated and crossed out. Box 91, Herbert Gatliff Papers. The earlier reluctance of the YHA to support access for this reason was also noted in YHA London Region News 1 no. 2, 1939, 2 (Y239001).
[122] Item 177, Executive Committee minutes, London, 17 September 1938 (Y700003-5).
[123] Item 227, Finance Committee minutes, London, 4 November 1938 (Y700003-5).
[124] Stephenson, *Forbidden Land*, 166.
[125] Stephenson to Morton, 30 November 1938 (LMA/4287/02/008/2).
[126] Item 395, Executive Committee minutes, London, 25 February 1939 (Y700003-5).
[127] *YHA Rucksack* 7 no. 2, 1939, 2-5 (Y500001).
[128] For details see ch. 8 of Stephenson, *Forbidden Land*.

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